THE COMMERCIAL-THEOLOGICAL TERMS IN THE KORAN.

A DISSERTATION

PRESENTED FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

AT THE

UNIVERSITY OF STRASBURG

BY

CHARLES C. TORREY

MAY 7th, 1892.

LEYDEN. — E. J. BRILL.
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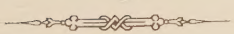

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DEDICATED

TO MY PARENTS.

ABBREVIATIONS.

Bḍ. = Beiḍâwî's Koran Commentary.

Bokh. = el-Bokhârî, Recueil des traditions mahométanes; ed. Krehl.

Ǵel. = Tefsîr el-Ǵelâlain, Koran Commentary of el-Maḥallî and es-Suyûṭî.

Kash. = el-Kashshâf, Koran Commentary of ez-Zamakhsharî.

Nes. = Koran Commentary of ʿOmar en-Nesfî. Ms. fragment in the Berlin R. Library, embracing Sur. **1**—**3**: 46. (Manuscr. Orient. (folio) 41; Ahlwardt, N°. 767.)

(The numerous additions by the hand of my honored teacher, Professor Nöldeke, I have generally indicated by the letter N.)

I.

The subject of the present essay was suggested by a remark of Prof. August Müller's, in his "Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland", I. 191 [1]), in which he intimates that such expressions as the "bankruptcy" of the last day, occurring in the Koran, are an outgrowth of Mohammed's life as a Mekkan merchant. It is a familiar fact that the theological terminology of the Koran contains a number of words which are primarily used to express some commercial relation. Every man will at last be confronted with his "reckoning" (حساب); unbelievers are "the losers" (الخاسرون); Allah "buys" the service of his people (اشترى انفسهم واموالهم); every soul is "held as security" (رهين) for its debts; and so on. The variety of these expressions and the frequency with which they recur may perhaps entitle them to consideration as a class by themselves. Whether they belong to a phase of Mohammed's personal history or not, they can hardly fail to reflect, to some extent, his way of thinking. It is the object of the present paper to collect and arrange these terms and the passages in which they occur, in the hope of throwing thereby some additional light on Mohammed's own conception of the religion whose prophet he was.

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1) "Immerhin kann der Muslim dessen gewiss sein, ... dass er, wenn sein Conto nicht allzuschwer belastet gefunden wird, hoffen darf, dem 'Bankerott' — wie Mohammed als alter mekkanischer Kaufmann den Zusammenbruch alles irdischen Unrechts beim jüngsten Gericht genannt hat — im Jenseits zu entgehen".

The Koran manifests everywhere a lively interest in matters of trade. Sur. **106** (one of the oldest) might well be the word of a tradesman to his fellows, calling on them to recognize the goodness of Allah in prospering their winter and summer caravans. Cf. with this such passages as **16**: 113, and **34**: 14, 17, 18. Some passages are filled with the sounds of busy merchant life, as **62**: 9—11, or constantly suggest an origin in such surroundings, as for example Sur. **16** (vs. 7, "the beasts of burden... which carry your loads into far-off lands"; vs. 14, "the ships, which further commerce"; vs. 16, "the stars, which serve as guides"). The admiration, almost amounting to veneration, with which Mohammed speaks of the ship (فلك) as a vehicle of trade, is striking. Notice, for example, what a prominent place it occupies in the passages which enumerate the chief wonders (آيات) of God's creation, such as **2**: 159, **14**: 37. Beside these passages there are no less than ten others in which the فلك is mentioned as a chief blessing to man [1]).

It is more than once implied that trade is the most interesting of all pursuits. This, sooner than anything else, would be likely to distract attention from religious matters. رجال لا تُلْهيهم تجارةٌ ولا بيع عن ذِكْر الله, **24**: 37. Cf. **62**: 9, **9**: 24.

The practical legislation of the Koran is often concerning business transactions, public or private; e. g. **2**: 282, the passages concerning usury (ربو), and so on.

The fact that Mohammed expressly permitted trade during the pilgrimage [2]) (**2**: 194) is striking proof of his interest in it and appreciation of its importance.

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1) **16**: 14, **17**: 68, **22**: 64, **23**: 22, **30**: 45, **31**: 30, **35**: 13, **40**: 80, **43**: 11, **45**: 11. (One could almost believe, after reading **10**: 23, that Mohammed had himself been to sea!)

2) Cf. Bḍ. (com. to the passage mentioned); Bokh. II. 5, 16.

A large part of the moral precepts of the Koran proceed evidently from the same standpoint. The direct exhortation to fairness in bargaining is not uncommon: أَوْفُوا الكيل والميزان بالقسط, **6** : 153, **17** : 37, **55** : 7, 8, cf. **57** : 25; cf. also **12** : 59, 88, in which we hear the prophet's own words, and **7** : 83, **11** : 85, 86, **26** : 181—3, where we are evidently shown, in the preaching of Sho'aib, one phase of Mohammed's own mission. No form of sin is more fiercely attacked than that of unfair dealing. The invective against those who give short weight (المطفّفين) in **83** : 1—9, reminds of the Old Testament prophets.

But it is when we come to the theology of the Koran that the *business atmosphere* shows itself most plainly and characteristically. On almost every page we meet with such expressions as that noticed by Prof. Müller; words elsewhere used to express some familiar commercial idea, here transferred to the relations between God and man. (See list, p. 8.) These words, belonging to some twenty different stems, occur in the Koran about 370 times, thus averaging more than one to the page of Flügel's edition (after making allowance for space occupied by chapter-headings, &c.). Of the first 50 Suras, only four (**1**, **43**, **44**, **50**) do not contain one or another of them. They are not merely repetitions; their use exhibits considerable variety, both of form and of theological application.

Moreover, they are almost without exception native words, not acquired from other languages. We are accustomed to the idea of *borrowing*, in Arab theology, even before the time of Mohammed. The language of religion and worship contains a large number of loan-words, especially of Jewish origin. But the words we are considering express familiar,

every-day ideas, and form a group notably free from foreign elements [1]).

The presence of such a large number of trade-terms, thus used, in such a book as the Koran, is very noticeable. They impart a certain commercial tone to the whole. The fact cannot be without significance.

How far Mohammed himself may have been responsible for the creation of these theological terms, as such, is an interesting question, although one hardly admitting of a decisive answer. It would be more natural, perhaps, in want of certain proof, to regard them as the contribution of the prophet himself, — a new nomenclature for the new religion, — and further, as a reflection of his own former experience as a merchant. But, as we shall see, the way in which he uses them makes a somewhat different impression; moreover, we have more than one reason for believing that this use of mercantile terms to express theological facts — and what is more, of the *same* terms to express the *same* facts — was common among the Arabs before his time.

Mohammed belonged to a tribe and a city which had been for generations identified with commerce. They had a religious cultus that had grown up side by side with their material prosperity, and was so closely connected with it that one generally finds it difficult to separate the two. The origin of the city Mekka, so far as anything is certainly known concerning it, is to be looked for in the caravan trade passing through the Ḥiǵâz. The Kaʿba and its worship, even if they did not originate in the conditions of this traffic, had at any rate from the first a very close connection with it. (Müller, Islam, I. 30 sq.; Muir, Life of M., I. 214 sq.) It is perhaps as natural to suppose that the "sacred territory" and the "sacred months" were instituted for purposes of

1) Loan-words of such long standing as تجارة and مثقال (Fraenkel, Lehnwörter, 181, 202) may of course be regarded, for all our present purposes, as truly Arabic.

trade and in consequence of it, as to regard them merely as the occasion of it. For the long duration of the sacred period (four months!) any other satisfactory explanation is hard to imagine. At the time of Mohammed, the regular pilgrimages were inseparable from the great *fairs*, and this was the case not only in the neighborhood of Mekka, but also in many other parts of Arabia. (Wellhausen, Skizzen und Vorarbeiten, III. 72, 82.) This universal barter at the yearly markets was a necessity to the people. They lived, in a measure, from it. Bḍ., to **2**:194, كان عكاظ ومجنّة وذو المجاز اسواقهم فى الجاهليّة يقيمونها مواسم للحج وكانت معايشهم منها فلمّا جاء الاسلام تأثّموا منه الخ. It could not well have existed without the sacred territory and the sacred months. "Die Märkte scheinen überhaupt an heiligen Stätten, und immer zur heiligen Zeit, gehalten zu sein" (Wellhausen, ibid., III. 83, note). It may reasonably be doubted whether the sacred places or the sacred period ever existed *without* such trade. At all events, even if these fairs were not originally the main thing, they must have grown to be [1]), and this fact is sufficient for our purpose. Long before the time of Mohammed, the native gods and religious rites must have been pretty thoroughly identified with trade. The Arabs have at all times deserved their reputation as a preeminently *realistic*, *mathematical* people, and this might well have been especially true of the Ḳoreish. So far as they troubled themselves about theological and religious facts (on the average very little, probably), we might expect them to employ just such terms as these under discussion.

Further proof is furnished by certain passages occurring in pre-Mohammedan poems, which will be cited in the following pages.

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1) Wellh., ibid., asserts this for some of them; Snouck Hurgronje, Het Mekkaansche Feest, 18, 64, 179 sq., still more positively.

It is of course not necessary to suppose that all the *ideas* which received this most characteristic Arabic dress were themselves originally Arabic. Ideas borrowed from Jews or Christians, especially such ideas as were of a general character, might readily be adopted into this usage [1]). In so far as Mohammed's theological conceptions were an advance over those of his forefathers, so far would it be natural for him to extend the existing terminology (unconsciously, of course!) along the same familiar lines.

In a word, this clothing of theology in the language of trade is less characteristic of *Mohammed* than of *his people*. When once we regard it as a necessary growth out of the conditions of Arab life, the question of Mohammed's own experiences as a merchant loses very much of its importance for our present purposes.

In the following pages I have endeavored to bring together the Koran passages in which Mohammed employs current commercial terms in a theological signification. This naturally involves some raking over of dry bones. With the words and passages which exhibit actual business transactions, — often very interesting in themselves, — we are not now concerned, except in so far as they may serve to throw light on the figurative use. I have arranged these terms in groups which seemed to me convenient, and have cited the passages in varying order, partly for the sake of clearness, and partly to avoid monotony.

An asterisk signifies that every passage in which the word occurs has been cited.

I have called these terms "theological", but it must be evident from the outset that many of them, regarded by

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1) Zumal die Anschauung, dass frommes Denken und Thun das beste *Geschäft* sei, dass Gott pro rata belohne u. s. w., überhaupt echt *semitisch* ist und im Judenthum einen breiten Raum einnimmt. (N.)

themselves, play only a very obscure rôle in the Koran theology. It is when they are taken together and considered in connection with one another that they are of importance. This fact should be kept constantly in mind. It hardly needs to be said that in calling this a list of *trade*-terms, the word «trade" is taken in its more extended meaning.

In the various utterances ascribed to Mohammed, recorded by Bokhârî, Ibn Hishâm and others, these same expressions not infrequently occur. These are as a rule mere repetitions from the Koran, and add little of interest, so far as I have observed them.

On the other hand, Bokhârî's tradition-collection, especially the chapters البيوع, السَّلَم, الاجارة, الاستقراض, &c., gives constant and often very interesting illustration of Mohammed's attitude towards trade and business transactions of various kinds, as well as of his use of these particular terms in their literal sense.

Wherever it was possible, I have accompanied the Koran passages with corresponding citations from the Old and New Testaments, rather for the purpose of contrasting than with any idea of drawing a parallel. Commercial-theological terms appear, to be sure, and in considerable number and variety, — though the number of their occurrence in either O. T. or N. T. is proportionally very much smaller than in the Koran. But the wide difference lies not so much in the frequency or infrequency of their occurrence as in the manner of their use. In the Biblical writings (O. T. and N. T. are alike in this respect), such expressions are used as occasional figures of speech, as commonly in other writings. In the Koran, on the contrary, they are generally *not* tropes introduced to adorn certain facts, but terms regularly employed to state the bare and blunt facts themselves. The bulk of theological teaching, in certain departments, is carried by these expressions, and they usually appear in the same

simple mathematical form. In this respect, the Koran is unique.

All this will appear more plainly, I hope, as the passages are cited.

II.

Reckoning; Weights and Measures.	Payment, Wages.	Loss; Fraud.	Buying and Selling; Profit.	Loans; Security.
حسب	جزى	خسر	شرى	قرض
حصى	ثوب	—	بيع	أسلف
—	وفى	بخس	تجر	—
وزن	اجر	ظلم	ثمن	رهن
ثقل	—	ألت	—	
	كسب	نقص	ربح	

Reckoning; Weights and Measures.

حسب

Allah is in standing account with every man. Each good work is counted in man's favor, each bad deed is a debt. This reckoning is generally allowed to run during man's lifetime, but must at last be settled, by full payment of all balances. This fact of the final settlement was upper-

most in Mohammed's mind at the time he began his public ministry. All other facts were of minor significance in comparison.

(*حساب)

الحساب [1]), the personal account between God and man, or oftener the settlement of the account, appears in the earliest Suras. In fact it might be called in a certain sense characteristic of them, not only because it appears relatively oftener, but also because it appears then in its greatest vigor, and lends a distinct color to the whole opening period [2]).

Each man will be confronted with a written statement of his personal account (كتابه) at the last day: **69** : 13—29, فامّا مَن أُوتى كتابَه بيمينه فيقول هآؤم اقرؤا كتابيهْ، انّى ظننتُ أنّى مُلاقٍ حسابيهْ (v. 19, 20); وأمّا مَن اوتى كتابَه بشماله فيقول يا ليتنى لمْ أُوتَ كتابيهْ، ولمْ أَدْرِ ما حسابيهْ (v. 25, 26). The counterpart of this passage is **84** : 1—15, فامّا مَن اوتى كتابَه بيمينه، فسوف يُحاسَب حسابًا يسيرًا (v. 7, 8).

The idea of *the book* (الكتاب) in which the account is kept might well have been borrowed, in the first instance, from Jewish or Christian sources. Cf. ספר חיים, Dan. XII. 1, 2, Rev. XX. 12. The general fact of a *written reckoning*, حساب مُثْبَت فى الدفاتر [3]), bill of sale, &c., was of course familiar enough among the Arabs. At any rate, the idea of a *divine book of reckoning* was common even before Moham-

1) Vgl. u. A. Pirqe Aboth 3 : 1, ולפני מי אתה עתיד לתן דין וחשבון. (N.)

2) In speaking of the "periods" of the Koran, referring to the date of particular passages, &c., I follow the division given in Nöldeke's "Geschichte des Qorâns".

3) Nöldeke, Beiträge, 186: 10.

med's time, as the following verses from Zuhair show (Mo'all. 27, 28) [1]):

فلا تكتمنّ الله ما فى صدوركم
ليَخْفَى ومَهْما يُكْتَم الله يعلم
يُؤَخَّرْ فيُوضَعْ فى كتاب فيُدَّخَرْ
ليوم الحساب او يُعَجَّلْ فيُنقَم

The parallel here with the Koran is striking.

Beside the above passages cf. (for "the book") **17** : 15, **45** : 27, 28, **21** : 94, **18** : 47, **34** : 3, **10** : 62; also such passages as **9** : 121, 122, كُتِب لهم; **36** : 11, نكتب ما قدّموا, &c.

78 : 27 (speaking of the idolatrous Mekkans), إنّهم كانوا لا يرجون حسابًا, the passage occurring in a Sura whose general character is much like that of the two above mentioned, though much more detailed in its description of the torments and delights of the future state. From this time on there are no more such vivid pictures of the "reckoning" at the last day [2]). In **17** : 14, 15, the scene is recalled for a moment, and man is represented as pronouncing his own sentence from the columns of the account book: اقْرَأْ كتابك كفى بنفسك اليومَ عليك حسيبًا. In the opening words of Sur. **21** we see the idea still in its oldtime vigor, اقترب للناس حسابهم وهم فى غفلة مُعْرِضون!

1) Ed. Arnold. Of course the precise form of words may have been affected by Mohammedan influences; the genuineness of these verses as a whole is however very well attested.

2) A comparison of **69** : 13—29 with the "Dies Irae" is not uninteresting. Even the "Teste David cum Sibylla" is not without its counterpart, if one is willing to go back to the 4th verse, كذّبت ثمود وعاد بالقارعة! These are just such ideas as M. might have got from some Christian hermit who had wandered off into the desert to wait for the crash of eternity.

The use in **88** : 26 is more general, ثمّ إنّ علينا حسابهم; cf. **23** : 117, **26** : 113, **6** : 52, 68, **13** : 40, where the idea is the same. It belongs to Allah alone to reckon the account; even the prophet may not do it. Each man's account stands for itself, nor is any man concerned with any reckoning but his own. (**6** : 52).

A similar idea is contained in the expression كفى بالله حسيبًا **33** : 39; **21** : 48 ((كفى بنا حاسبين[1]); cf. **17** : 15.

God may demand the settlement of the account at any time (cf. **65** : 8, e. g.), but الحساب, standing by itself, refers always to the last day. Mohammed occasionally employs the expression يوم الحساب (which same expression we have seen used by Zuhair in the passage quoted above). Thus, **38** : 15, 25, 53, إنّ الذين يضلّون عن سبيل الله لهم عذاب شديد بما نسوا يوم الحساب (v. 25); **40** : 28, لا يؤمن بيوم الحساب; **14** : 42, يوم يقوم الحساب. In all these, the term is hardly more than equivalent to يوم القيامة.

Somewhat more pointed is the use in **13** : 18, 21, اولائك لهم سوء الحساب; **65** : 8 (where, however, the reference is to the "terrible reckoning" paid in time past, by the wicked nations); **2** : 284, وإن تبدوا ما فى انفسكم او تخفوه يحاسبكم به الله فيغفر لمن يشاء ويعذّب من يشاء والله على كلّ شىء قدير; where the latter part of the verse (فيغفر الخ) adds the very significant fact that the final treatment of the "reckoning" is after all arbitrary with Allah!

In **24** : 39, فوفّاه حسابه, حساب is practically equivalent to جزاء. Cf. **78** : 36.

Allah is of course the readiest of all reckoners. He not

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1) Gel. has مُحصين فى كلّ شىء.

only keeps each man's account with the greatest exactness, in preparation for the day of judgment [1]), but is ready at any moment to confront believer or unbeliever with his standing. As this is an idea that would often recur, and one, moreover, capable of more than one application, it is natural that Mohammed should employ سريع الحساب as a convenient verse-ending. [Mohammed has a number of favorite expressions which he repeatedly uses, especially in the later Suras, in order to build the rhyme at the end of the verse. Among these are some of the trade terms we are considering. Such, when they occur often enough to be noticeable, I have designated as "stock expressions", and shall occasionally refer to them by that name. It is evident that by such use the original force of the expression is often weakened.]

E. g., **14** : 51, ليجزى الله كلّ نفس ما كسبت إنّ الله سريع الحساب; also **13** : 41, **40** : 17, **2** : 198, **3** : 17, 199, **5** : 6, **24** : 39. Once أسرع الحاسبين, **6** : 62.

حساب is made to do duty in another "stock" expression, viz. بغير حساب; **39** : 13 [2]), **40** : 43, **2** : 208, **3** : 26, 32, **24** : 38; in every case except the first in the same set phrase بغير حساب . . . . . يرزق. Notice that in these examples the word حساب is used in a different sense from the preceding. Bḍ., to **2** : 208, بغير تقدير; Ǵel., to **24** : 38, يقال فلان ينفق بغير حساب اى يوسع كأنه لا يحسب ما أنفقه. Cf. also **38** : 38.

For other examples of the use of حسب see **4** : 88, **55** : 4, cited below under حصى.

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1) يحاسب الخلق كلّهم فى قدر نصف نهار من ايام الدنيا لحديث بذلك, Ǵel. to **2** : 198. Cf. Kash. to **40** : 17.

2) Cf. **68** : 3, &c. See under أجر.

A later use of حسب, springing from the Koran use, is instructive. احتسب is not infrequently employed by the historians in the signification ("he did a thing) in the service of God" (لوجه الله); originally, of course, "counting on the future reward" (sc. اجرًا). Thus, Belâdhurî 107, فسارع الناس اليه من بين محتسب وطامع, i. e., "either from religious zeal or from desire of worldly gain". Cf. p. 108. Or governing a direct object, as in Bel. 309, فأُصيبتْ عينه بسهم فقال احتسبتُها عند الله الذى زيّن بها وجهى [1]). Students of theology are called لمحتسبون فى ذات الله, i. e., devoting themselves to this study in order to win the future reward! (Dozy, Suppl.)

According to the traditions, this use can be traced to Mohammed himself [2]). Thus, Bokh. I. 22 sq., III. 485, قال النبىّ اذا انفق المسلم نفقةً على اهله وهو يحتسبها كانت له صدقةً; and the phrase ايمانًا واحتسابًا, id. I. 17 : 4, 13; 20 : 7. Cf. also the passage cited from Zamakhsharî, in Belâdh., Gloss., s. v., يا ايها الناس احتسبوا اعمالكم فانّ مَن احتسب عملَه كُتب له اجر عمله واجر حسْبته. (See Bel., Gl., and authorities cited there, for further illustration.)

In the Old Testament there is hardly a trace of the idea expressed in the Koran by الحساب. Even the notion of

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1) اِحْتَسِبْه, "finde dich (um Gottes Willen) in seinen Tod", Kâmil 634: 18, und ähnlich öfter, sodass احتسب zuletzt einfach die Bedeutung annimmt "sich fassen". (N.) Cf. further Dozy, Suppl., s. v.

2) But in such matters the traditions are not trustworthy. Professor Nöldeke refers especially to Goldziher's recent proof that the term شهيد, as commonly used for those who fall in fighting for Islam, arose later than Mohammed's time, although it occurs in the Ḥadîth.

judgment generally concerns nations rather than individuals, and is limited, with one or two exceptions, to this life. In the New Testament, the last day is conceived as a day of *judgment* (*ἡμέρα κρίσεως*, יום דין, Matt. XII. 36) rather than as a day of *reckoning* [1]). It resembles the يوم الحساب only after the entire omission of the mathematical "reckoning", "weighing", "payment", &c., so essential to Mohammed's conception. The idea of God's keeping a running account of man's deeds is foreign to both O. T. and N. T.

For the nearest approach to the Koran standpoint, cf. the following: Matt. XII. 36, *Λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν ὅτι πᾶν ῥῆμα ἀργὸν ὃ λαλήσουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ἀποδώσουσιν περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγον ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως.* II Cor. V. 10, Rom. XIV. 12, I Pet. IV. 5. In Gen. XV. 6 (Rom. IV. 3, Gal. III. 6) the resemblance is only verbal.

The "book of life" (ספר חיים) is not thought of as an account book. It plays, furthermore, a very insignificant rôle in the Scriptures. The two chief passages, Dan. XII. 1, 2, Rev. XX. 12, are interesting as compared with the Koran. ובעת ההיא ימלט עמך כל הנמצא כתוב בספר: ורבים מישני אדמת עפר יקיצו אלה לחיי עולם ואלה לחרפות לדראון עולם. — *Καὶ εἶδον τοὺς νεκρούς, τοὺς μεγάλους καὶ τοὺς μικρούς, ἑστῶτας ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου, καὶ βιβλία ἠνοίχθησαν· καὶ ἄλλο βιβλίον ἠνοίχθη, ὅ ἐστιν τῆς ζωῆς· καὶ ἐκρίθησαν οἱ νεκροὶ ἐκ τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐν τοῖς βιβλίοις κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν.*

حصى

The most general of all the "mercantile" ideas, that of *counting*, *calculating*, is frequently predicated of Allah, some-

1) So sind auch Dan. VII. 10 die ספרין als "Gerichtsacten" zu verstehen. (N.)

times in connection with the حساب, sometimes by itself. The use in the latter case is often instructive.

حصى is used for the reckoning, or entering, of the account in the book: **78**:29, وكلّ شيء أحصيناه كتابًا; **36**:11, انّا نحن نحيى الموتى ونكتب ما قدّموا وآثارهم وكلّ شيء احصيناه فى امام مبين. Ǵel. paraphrases in these passages by ضبطناه. Bd., to **78**:29, has [كتابًا] مصدر لاحصيناه فانّ الاحصاء والكتبة يتشاركان فى معنى الضبط. **18**:47, يا ويلتنا مال هذا الكتاب لا يغادر صغيرة ولا كبيرة الّا احصاها; **58**:7, فينبّئهم بما عملوا احصاه الله ونسوه.

In **72**:28, واحاط بما لديهم واحصى كلّ شيء عددًا, the expression is used in a more general sense, as one of the attributes of Allah, who "keeps account of all things". Similarly, **19**:94.

Cf. with this the use of حسب in **4**:88, إنّ الله كان على كلّ شيء حسيبًا, and **55**:4, الشمس والقمر بحسبان [1]) (cf. **73**:20, لن تحصوه).

A similar idea is contained in the use of قدر, وزن, in the following examples: **13**:9, وكلّ شيء عنده بمقدار; **73**:20, والله يقدّر الليل والنهار; **15**:19, من كلّ شيء مَوْزون. Mohammed's idea of God, as shown us in the Koran, is in its main features a somewhat magnified and idealized picture of a Mekkan merchant. It could hardly have been otherwise.

Among the "99 names of God" [2]) are المحصى and الحسيب.

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1) Harîrî, Dur., 182.
2) Given, e.g., in Ǵel. to **17**:110.

Cf. with **13** : 9, &c., Is. XL. 12, מי מדד בשעלו מים ושמים בזרת תכן וכל בשלש עפר הארץ ושקל בפלס הרים וגבעות במאזנים; Job XXXVIII. 37, 5, XXVIII, 25.

وزن ,ثقل

Side by side with the idea of the book of reckoning stood in Mohammed's mind a vivid picture of the يوم الحساب as a day when all men's actions shall be *weighed*, and judgment apportioned according to the values thus determined.

This is one of the ideas characteristic of the earlier period of Mohammed's preaching, when all his thought centred about the day of judgment. **101** : 5, 6 (speaking of the fearful day when "men will be like butterflies scattered by the wind, and the mountains like colored wool picked to pieces"), فامّا مَن ثقلتْ موازينه فهو فى عيشة راضية، وامّا من خفّتْ موازينه فأُمّه هاوية. This is repeated almost verbatim, but with a characteristic alteration, in **23** : 104, 105, **7** : 7, 8, والوزن يومئذ الحقّ فمَن ثقلت موازينه فاولائك هم المفلحون ومَن خفّت موازينه فاولائك الذين خسروا انفسهم; where the contrasted المفلحون and الذين خسروا انفسهم, so familiar in later Suras, replace the more vigorous terms of the first example. Each man's deeds, — then his only merchandise, — are put into the pan of the balance, and (as in the reckoning of the book) each will be credited with his exact due, even to the "weight of an ant". All is done on the strictest business principles. فمَن يَعْمَلْ مثقال ذرّة خيرا يره، ومَن يعمل مثقال ذرّة شرّا يره, **99** : 7, 8; or, somewhat more specifically stated, **21** : 48, ونضع الموازين القِسْطَ ليوم القيامة فلا تُظْلَم

نفس شيئًا وانْ كان مثقال حبّة من خَرْدل [1] اتينا بها وكفى بنا حاسبين. Cf. **31**: 15, **4**: 44, **34**: 3 (في كتاب مبين), **10**: 62 [2]).

Hence the expression **18**: 105, فلا نقيم لهم يوم القيمة وزنًا.

Weights and measures proceed from Allah. The balances are his institution. His own dealings with men are the standard of exact justice. الله الذى انزل الكتاب بالحق والميزان, **42**: 16; **57**: 25. Bd., الشرع الذى يُوازن به الحقوق ويسوّى بين الناس او العدل. **55**: 6, 7, 8, is still more instructive: والسماء رفعها ووضع الميزان، ألّا تطغَوْا في الميزان، واقيموا الوزن بالقسط ولا تُخسِروا الميزان.

Cf. with **18**: 105 [3]), Dan. V. 27, תקלתא במאזניא וחסרת; Ps. LXII. 10; Job XXXI. 6, ישקלני במאזני־צדק וידע אלוה תמתי.

Always a favorite figure of speech. Cf. en-Nâbigha, Diw. [4]), *Fragments*, 35:

وميزانه في سورة المَجْد مانع

Payment, Wages.

The Arab was accustomed to the idea that everything can be paid for. Blood atoned for blood, a captive could be

1) Cf. Matt. XIII, 31, 32.

2) Some of the orthodox Muslim ideas concerning the ميزان and the *weighing* at the last judgment are given by Flügel, "Scha'rânî und sein Werk", Z. D. M. G. XX. 44, 47. [Vgl. auch z. B. Muhammedanische Eschatologie, hrsg. von M. Wolff, Leipzig '72, und ad-Dourra al-fâkhira ... de Ghazâlî, ed. L. Gautier, Genève '78. (N.)]

3) Professor Dümichen, of the University of Strasburg, kindly informs me that *the balances* play an important part in the Egyptian Eschatology from the earliest times. He refers to Naville, Das aegyptische Todtenbuch, Cap. 125. The comparison is interesting.

4) Ahlwardt's Edition.

ransomed with a certain number of camels, and so on. Moreover, in religious matters, all scores *must* be settled. So far as man's actions concern God, so far must he requite them.

وعند الله تاجزية الرجال,

en-Nâbigha, Diw., 19 : 17 [1]). God cannot be cheated, and must himself, in common fairness, deal honestly. The idea of *payment* from God, including punishment and reward, is naturally very prominent in Mohammed's theology. It is the most fundamental of the ideas we are discussing, the groundwork upon which they are built. There is present together with this idea of exact requital, where every smallest deed is met with its equivalent, also that of *wages*; a reward given for service rendered. إيّاك نعبد — but *not without pay*!

The words جزى, ثوب, وفى, اجر, in their various forms, play an important part in the Koran from the first. They are used almost exclusively in the theological sense, and, with few exceptions, refer to the future life.

It may fairly be taken for granted that most of these terms, probably all of them, were current in this same figurative use before the time of Mohammed. Of course the idea was a familiar one in wishes and imprecations; e. g.:

جزى الله كمالا باسّوا فعله
جزاء سنمّار جزاء موفرا

Ṭabarî, I. Series, 851: 15. Cf. Freytag, Prov., I. 280.

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1) The poem is pronounced spurious by Ahlwardt. The idea in this verse is certainly old enough, however. [Das Gedicht als Ganzes ist gewiss echt, und ich glaube kaum, dass man an 19: 17b Anstoss zu nehmen hat; das Gedicht ist ja an einen *christlichen* Fürsten gerichtet; der Dichter verkehrte viel mit Christen. (N.)]

جزى

The strict meaning of the verb, "give satisfaction, or compensation, for [a thing]" (كفى), is well illustrated in **2** : 45 (117, **31** : 32), واتّقوا يومًا لا تجزى نفس عن نفس شيـًٔا, ولا يُقبل منها شفاعةٌ ولا يؤخذ منها عدلٌ, the figure taken from ransoming [1]).

Used literally for paying of wages (اجر) in **28** : 25, ليجزيك اجر ما سقيت لنا. The idea of paying an obligation *in full* belongs properly to جزى, but is not often kept in sight. In the usual Koran use it is equivalent to the English "pay", and is employed for both reward and punishment — somewhat oftener for the latter than for the former. **53** : 32, ليجزى الذين أساؤا بما عملوا ويجزى الذين أحسنوا بالحسنى; **77** : 44, انّا كذلك نجزى المحسنين (used as a sort of refrain in Sur. **37**); **46** : 24 (المجرمين); **52** : 16, انّما تُجزَون ما كنتم تعملون; **66** : 7 (cf. **37** : 38, **40** : 43, **4** : 122), an expression that is very commonly used in speaking of the future lot of the wicked.

The "paying" may take place in this life (**6** : 147, **34** : 16, cf. **42** : 19), but in the great majority of instances the reference is to the final settlement of the account at the يوم الحساب.

76 : 12, وجزاهم بما صبروا جنّةً; **14** : 51, **40** : 17; **21** : 30, عذاب الهون. Of the Muslim's reward (اجر), **16** : 98, 99, **39** : 36.

(جزاء)

As مصدر of جزى, used in all of the preceding significations. The literal meaning "satisfaction", "compensation" (in

1) Cf. Nöldeke, Del. Carm. Arab., 110: 1. (Ka'b ibn-Zuhair.)

non-theological sense), is illustrated in **5** : 42, والسارق والسارقة فاقطعوا أيديهما جزاء بما كسبا; **12** : 25, 74, 75, **5** : 96; cf. **5** : 37.

Used for the divine recompense in general, whether reward or punishment; **55** : 60, هل جزاء الاحسان الّا الاحسان; **42** : 38, وجزاء سيّئة سيّئة مثلها; **10** : 28; **2** : 79, فما جزاء من يعمل ذلك منكم الّا خزى فى الحيوة الدنيا ويوم القيامة يردّون الى اشدّ العذاب.

Sometimes used for the retribution in this life (as in **9** : 26), but regularly in speaking of the last day. The جزاء is properly the payment which is determined by the حساب [1]). **78** : 26 (punishment of the wicked); 36 (reward of the righteous); **59** : 17, **76** : 22, **3** : 130, **18** : 106, **56** : 23. In **24** : 39 حساب is used in the sense of جزاء.

In the O. T., God's recompense is generally conceived as belonging to this life. The idea of requital belongs to every religious system, and does not necessarily involve any *commercial* idea. The form of statement is often much the same as in the Koran. The "payment" is generally expressed by שלם, which corresponds etymologically with وفّى, but as actually used is like جزى in the Koran.

Thus, — Ps. LXII. 13, ולך אדני חסד כי אתה תשלם לאיש כמעשהו; Is. LIX. 18, Job XXXIV. 11, Jer. XXV. 14. In a bad sense, Jer. XVI. 18, ושלמתי ראשונה משנה עונם וחטאתם; XXXII. 18, Is. LXV. 6, cf. Jer. XVIII. 20. In a good sense, Prov. XIII. 21, את צדיקים ישלם טוב; XI. 31, הן צדיק בארץ ישלם אף כי רשע וחוטא;

1) Thus the term دار الجزاء, commonly employed to mean "the future state".

XIII. 13. The substantive שלום (= جزاء) also appears; thus, Hos. IX. 7, באו ימי השלם, cf. Is. XXXIV. 8. Also פעלה (wages for work done; اجر in the N. T.), as in Is. XLIX. 4, LXI. 8.

In the N. T. (reward and punishment also in the future life), I Cor. III. 8, ... ἕκαστος δὲ τὸν ἴδιον μισθὸν λήμψεται κατὰ τὸν ἴδιον κόπον. Eph. VI. 8, Heb. II. 2, X. 30, II Cor. V. 10, II Pet. II. 13 (مجازاة, اجر; contrast the Koran use of اجر); Rom. VI. 23, τὰ γὰρ ὀψώνια τῆς ἁμαρτίας θάνατος.

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* ثوب

ثوّب and اثاب — root-meaning "to give a *return*, compensation, (for a thing)" (عوّض) — are used as equivalents of جزى. **5**: 88, فاثابهم الله بما قالوا جنّات .... وذلك جزاء المحسنين; **48**: 18, **3**: 147 (Bd., جازاكم .... غمّا متصلا بغمّ); **83**: 36, هل ثُوِّب الكفّارُ ما كانوا يفعلون.

(ثواب)

The Koran use is like that of جزاء. The Commentators generally regard the two as synonyms and use them interchangeably. To be sure, ثواب is always employed in a *good sense*, never to mean *punishment*; but the fact is perhaps only accidental, as the word occurs but a few times in the Koran. Other derivatives of ثوب are sometimes employed in the bad sense; cf. examples just given, and **5**: 65, below. Gel. makes a distinction between ثواب and جزاء in his com. to **99**: 7, 8, adding after vs. 7 ثوابه, and after vs. 8 جزاؤه.

It is probable that the two were not clearly distinguished in Mohammed's mind.

لأُدخِلنّهم جنّات ..... ثوابا من عند الله والله عنده حُسْن الثواب (a promise to those who engage in the service of Allah); so **18** : 30, 42, 44, **19** : 79, **28** : 80. **3** : 195,

مَن يردْ ثواب الدنيا نؤتـه منها ومَن يـردْ ثـواب الاخرة نؤته منها وسيجزى الله الشاكرين; 141, **4** : 133. **3** : 139,

(مثوبة)

Used twice as a synonym of ثواب; **2** : 97, **5** : 65 (in the latter case signifying punishment).

Cf. further the use of שׁוּב in the following O. T. passages: — Ps. XVIII. 21, כבר ידי ישיב לי; XCIV. 23, Job XXXIII. 27.

وفّى*

Often employed in the Koran in stating the fact that Allah will surely pay each soul its full due. Its use thus corresponds closely with that of جزى. The force properly belonging to the root وفى, pay or perform *in full*, is however always present.

مَن كان يريد الحيوة الدنيا وزينتها نُوَفّ اليهم اعمالهم فيها وهم فيها لا يُبْخَسون; **24** : 25, يومئذ يوفّيهم الله دينهم الحقّ; **24** : 39, فوفّاه حسابه; **3** : 50, فيوفّيهم اجورهم; 182; **11** : 18, **3** : 24, ووُفّيتْ كلّ نفس ما كسبت وهم لا يُظْلَمون; **39** : 69, 70, **2** : 274, 281, **3** : 155, **11** : 111, 113 (both passages strongly

assertive), **16**:112, **46**:18, **4**:172, **35**:27, **8**:62, **39**:13.

53:38, ابراهيم الذى وفّى, is an exception, being used in a sense like that for which Mohammed regularly employs the IV. stem [1]). (Bḍ., اتمّ ما امر به او بالغ فى الوفاء بما عهد الله الخ; so Ǵel.)

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*اجر

The word occurs not seldom in the Koran in its original meaning, *a reward given for service rendered*. Thus, **28**:25, ليجزيك اجر ما سقيت لنا; **18**:76, **7**:110, **26**:40.

At a certain period in the latter part of his public career in Mekka, Mohammed seems to have felt it necessary to defend himself repeatedly against the suspicion, or open accusation, of preaching with a view to making some gain from it. The charge evidently touched him at a tender point, and his reply to it was not always meek (e.g. **52**:40, **68**:46)! Thus, **6**:90, قل لا اسألكم عليه اجرًا إنْ هو الّا ذكرى للعالمين; **12**:104, **25**:59, **34**:46, **38**:86, **42**:22; **10**:73, **11**:31, **26**:109 (where the same words are put into the mouth of Noah); **11**:53, **26**:127 (Hûd); **26**:145 (Ṣâliḥ); 164 (Lot); 180 (Shu'aib); and the two passages already noted above. Cf. also **36**:20. جزاء is used similarly in **76**:9.

The verb اجر occurs in **28**:27 in the original significa-

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1) The use of أوفى in the Koran is as fixed as that of وفّى. It is applied either to *compacts*, in the phrase أوفوا بالعهد (بالنذر), or to actual *weights and measures*, in the expression أوفوا الكيل والميزان.

tion «serve for wages», and in vs. 26 the X. stem is used to mean «hire for wages». Cf. Bokh. II. 41, قال الله ثلاثة أنا خصمهم يوم القيامة رجلٌ اعطى بى ثمّ غدر ورجل باع حرًّا فأكل ثمنه ورجل استأجر اجيرًا فاستوفى منه ولم يعْط اجره.

But *the* prevailing Koran use of اجر is the *theological*. (In fact, this use has monopolized the word, so that in modern times اجر means generally the *divine* recompense, while for *wages* or *hire* paid by one man to another اجارة or اجرة is used.)

E. g., **2** : 59, مَن آمن بالله واليوم الآخر وعمل صالحا فلهم اجرهم عند ربّهم; 106, 264, 275, 277, **3** : 50, 130 (نعْمَ اجر العاملين, so **29** : 58, **39** : 74), **3** : 182 (إنّما توفّون اجوركم يومَ القيامة), 199, **4** : 101, 151, 172, **10** : 73 (إنْ اجرى الّا على الله[1], cf. the other passages cited above), **12** : 57, **16** : 98, 99, **18** : 2 (إنّ لهم اجرًا حسنًا ماكثين فيه أبدًا), **28** : 54 (يؤتَوْن اجرهم مرّتَيْن, so **33** : 31), **35** : 27, **39** : 36, **47** : 38, **48** : 16, **57** : 18, 27, **65** : 5 (ويُعْظِمْ له اجرًا), **73** : 20. From these examples it is plain that اجر has a more restricted and definite meaning than جزاء or ثواب. It is always *positive*; never employed to mean retribution, or even recompense in general.

It includes more than a just equivalent. It is nowhere said of the *righteous*, as of the wicked, إنّما يُجزَوْن ما كانوا يعملون (**52** : 16, &c., see under جزى); on the contrary,

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1) This use of على (found often in the Koran) is also a distinctively *commercial* form of expression. Allah is represented as a debtor, under obligation to pay.

10 : 27, للذين احسنوا الحُسْنى وزيادة (while vs. 28, الذين كسبوا السيّآت جزاء سيّئة بمثلها). So **6** : 161, مَن جاء بالحسنة فله عَشْر امثالها ومن جاء بالسيّئة فلا يُجْزَى الّا مثلها وهم لا يُظْلَمون; and **39** : 36, ليكفّر الله عنهم أسْوَء الذى عملوا ويَجْزيَهم اجرهم بأحسن الذى كانوا يعملون; cf. **16** : 98, 99, **65** : 5, &c., Bokh. I. 18 : 17 sq. The believer will receive a recompense for each and all of his good works (**99** : 7 &c.), and this is what is meant by the terms جزاء, ثواب, in their strict use, but he will receive *more* than this, الحسنى وزيادة (**10** : 27). So **57** : 11, 17, where the اجر كريم is something over and above even the doubled payment of the "loan".

The distinction between جزاء and اجر is illustrated in **42** : 38, وجزاء سيّئة سيّئةٌ مثلها فمَن عفا وأصلح فاجره على الله. The اجر, then, is a *gift* of God, over and above what has been *earned*, and is *the* gift in the future life. **3** : 182, &c. (**29** : 26 may be called an "exception that proves the rule", inasmuch as the اجر فى الدنيا is evidently mentioned here as a special distinction given to Abraham.) It belongs to *every Muslim*. Cf. with the above passages, أَسْلِمْ يُؤْتِكَ الله اجرك مرّتين, in "Mohammed's letter to Heraclius", Bokh. III. 215, and such favorite traditions as that given in Bokh. II. 204 : 9 sq.

It is something distinct from the حساب. The ideas حساب, جزاء, came first and were fundamental, then came the idea of the اجر. It is interesting to note that where this idea occurs in the earliest Suras, it is expressed by اجر غير ممنون, **68** : 3, **84** : 25, **95** : 6 (also **41** : 7; cf. **39** : 13 بغير حساب).

As we should expect, جزاء and ثواب (مثوبة) are often used loosely to mean *the future reward* in general, thus

taking on nearly or quite the signification of اجـر. E. g., **3** : 130, **20** : 78, **18** ; 30, **2** : 97, &c.

Any sharp distinction between these terms would be artificial. In such passages as **3** : 139, اجـر could not well be substituted for ثواب.

An expression which often recurs, in somewhat varying form, is لا نضيع اجـر المحسنين, **18** : 29, **7** : 169, **11** : 117, **12** : 56, 90, **3** : 165, **9** : 121, generally building the end of a verse.

A much more convenient verse-ending, and a favorite with Mohammed, is the expression اجر عظيم. This (with its opposite, عـذاب اليم) is a good example of the expressions kept on hand by the prophet for purposes of rhyming in the later portions of the Koran. اجر كبير is the form which first appears, **17** : 10, **67** : 12, **11** : 14, **35** : 8 (once كريم, **36** : 10); in Medina Suras: — اجر كريم, **33** : 43, **57** : 11, 17; كبير, **57** : 7; عظيم, **3** : 166, 174, **4** : 44, 70, 76, 97, 114, 145, 160, **5** : 12, **8** : 28, **9** : 22, **33** : 29, 35, **48** : 10, 29, **49** : 3, **64** : 15.

Certain denominative uses of اجر by Muslim writers furnish a further commentary to the Koran use. Thus, Ibn-Ǵubair, ed. Wright, 330, وأمّا فتيانه ... فهم مسلمون ما منهم الا مَن يصوم الاشهر تطوّعًا وتأجّرًا ويتصدّق الخ. At p. 48 the phrase تأجّرا واحتسابا occurs [1]) (cf. under حسب). The same signification, "tâcher de mériter une récompense dans la vie future", is assigned to the VIII. stem in Dozy, Suppl. [2]).

Cf. further the expressions أُجر فلان ولَدَه, أُجر فى اولاده, &c.,

1) These references, with others, are given in Ibn-Ǵubaïr, Gloss.

2) Nöld., Del. Carm., 21 : 7, is a good example (before the end of the Omeyyad rule).

illustrating the tenet that the Muslim receives a reward (اجر) for each and all of his young children that die.

The O. T. שָׂכַר bears little resemblance to the Koran اجر, though the two words have the same primary meaning. Gen. XV, 1, אנכי מגן לך שכרך הרבה מאד; Is. XL, 10, הנה שכרו אתו ופעלתו לפניו, LXII. 11; Jer. XXXI, 16. Cf. Is. XLIX. 4, פעלתי את אלהי, with **10** : 73, &c.

In the N. T., Luke VI. 23, ... *ἰδοὺ γὰρ ὁ μισθὸς ὑμῶν πολὺς ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ* (Syr. ܐܓܪܟ̈ܘܢ); vs. 35, Matt. VI. 1, X. 41, 42, Heb. X. 35, XI. 26; Rom. IV, 4, *τῷ δὲ ἐργαζομένῳ ὁ μισθὸς οὐ λογίζεται κατὰ χάριν ἀλλὰ κατὰ ὀφείλημα.* I Cor. III. 14, II John 8, Rev. XI. 18. Matt. XIX. 29, *καὶ πᾶς ὅστις ἀφῆκεν οἰκίας ἢ ἀδελφοὺς ἢ ἀδελφὰς ἢ πατέρα ἢ μητέρα ἢ τέκνα ἢ ἀγροὺς ἕνεκεν τοῦ ἐμοῦ ὀνόματος, πολλαπλασίονα λήμψεται καὶ ζωὴν αἰώνιον κληρονομήσει.* Mark X. 30.

كسب

To what extent كسب belongs in our list is not easy to say. Its meaning has passed through the stages *gain* [1]), (*seek to gain*), *earn*, *deserve*, and as commonly used in the Koran it is very nearly equivalent to عمل, "do" (good or evil), and is so interpreted by the Coms. Thus Ǵel. to **2** : 198, اولائك لهم نصيب ممّا كسبوا, explains كسبوا by

1) Zunächst wohl "suchen", nicht "sammeln"; cf. كواسب (com. صوائد) für die Wölfe, Lebîd, Mo'all., 38. So auch die beliebte Construction mit 2 Objj., كسبه شيًّا, "er sorgte dafür, dass er etwas erwarb", ähnlich wie بغاه شيًّا. (N.)

عملوا من الحج والدعاء. So, to **52** : 21, عمل من خير او شرّ. But even here one finds the commercial signification, the "doing" being connected with what it produces. Other passages are explained by عمل without further qualification. Bḍ. to **2** : 75, مَن كسب سيّئةً واحاطتْ به خطئتُه فاولائك اصحاب النار, tries to find in the word something more than عمل, and has the following: — الكَسْب استجلاب النفع وتعليقه بالسيّئة على طريقة فبشّرْهم بعذاب اليم.

The original meaning of كسب, according to Lane, is to *collect* (property). Cf. e. g. Kash. to **39** : 51. The usual signification is that given in Moḥît el-Moḥît, كسب مالًا وعلمًا طلبه وربحه. Thus, Bokh. II. 7, 9, 10, 54, 55, and the verse of Imrulḳais (Diw. 29: 8):

مُطْعَمُ للصيْد ليس له
غيرها كَسْب على كِبَرِهْ

كسب in the literal signification "to gain" is not wholly wanting in the Koran. In **111** : 2, Abû Lahab is cursed in the words ما اغنى عنه ماله وما كسب! Kash., ماله وما كسب بماله يعنى راس المال والارباح; so Bḍ. Cf. **45** : 9 [1]), **15** : 84, **39** : 51, **40** : 82, where the word seems to have about the same signification as in the above passage. So **2** : 269, أنفقوا من طيّبات ما كسبتم وممّا أخرجْنا لكم من الارض.

The meaning "deserve" (earn) appears in **33** : 58, والذين يؤذون المؤمنين والمؤمنات بغير ما اكتسبوا الخ; **2** : 225, **4** : 36, **2** : 128, 286, and the often recurring sentence ثمّ تُوفّى كلّ نفس ما كسبتْ, **2** : 281, **3** : 24, 155, **14** : 51, **40** : 17, **45** : 21.

1) Kash., من اموال فى رحلهم ومتاجرهم.

On the other hand, in such passages as **2** : 75, **10** : 28, **31** : 34, **4** : 111 (cf. the preceding verse), **52** : 21, **74** : 41, كسب seems to be almost exactly equivalent to عمل. The idea of *earning* is undoubtedly present, but is certainly very elusive. So in **5** : 42 (the punishment of thieves), جزاءً بما كسبا could hardly be translated "requital for what they have *deserved*".

All this is interesting, the more so, as the word seems to be a favorite with Mohammed. Most of these passages suggest the original signification "collect". How far the trade idea was present here to Mohammed is a question not easily answered.

كسب and اكتسب are generally regarded as equivalent. In **2** : 286 the two are placed in juxtaposition, and the Coms. (Bḍ., Kash., Ǵel., Nes.), feeling themselves bound to make *some* distinction, agree in assigning to اكتسب here a more intensive meaning; لا يكلّف الله نفسا الّا وُسْعَها لها ما كسبتْ وعليها ما اكتسبتْ.

اقترف (**6** : 113, 120, **9** : 24, **42** : 22), اجترح (**45** : 20), and جرح [1]) (**6** : 60), are pronounced by the Coms. equivalent to اكتسب.

Loss; Fraud.

The "loss" might be of two kinds; either incurred through the fault of the loser himself, by engaging in an unprofitable business or making a foolish bargain, or through unfair dealing by the other party (Allah).

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[1]) Bd., Kash., even add (to **45** : 20) ومنه جارحة. (جوارح, **5** : 6, cf. كواسب, Lebîd, Mo'all., 38 (?).)

The former idea is represented in the Koran by خسر; the latter chiefly by ظلم.

خسر *

The word occurs three times in the Koran in speaking of actual trade; **83** : 3 [1]), ويل للمطففين، الذين اذا اكتالوا على الناس يستوفون، واذا كالوهم أو وزنوهم يخسرون; **55** : 8, ولا تطغوا في الميزان. أوفوا الكيل ولا تكونوا من المخسرين; **26** : 181, تخسروا الميزان.

A خاسر is a man who is "*in an evil case*", whether he himself is aware of the fact or not. **23** : 36, ولئن اطعتم بشرا مثلكم انكم اذا لخاسرون. So **7** : 88; cf. **3** : 142, **5** : 24, and **79** : 12 [2]).

Mohammed always uses خسر in a very serious way. The "loser" is cheated through his own folly (Nes., Gel.). The "loss" is complete, including not only the profits, but also the capital itself (تضييع راس المال; Bd. to **4** : 118, **6** : 12). It is even equivalent to total destruction (هلاك), as at **11** : 49, **7** : 22, 148 (Nes., in com. to **2** : 25).

Life is a *losing business* [3]) to all but believers. **103** : 2, إن الانسان لفي خسر، الا الذين آمنوا الخ; **65** : 9, **17** : 84, **35** : 37, **11** : 66, **71** : 20. More specifically, **6** : 31, قد خسر الذين كذبوا بلقاء الله, **10** : 46, cf. **40** : 78, 85, **45** : 26, **4** : 118, **6** : 141 (those who buried their children alive).

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1) Cf. Amos VIII, 5, 6.
2) Some of these passages will be further noticed below
3) Cf. Kash., Gel., to **103** : 2.

The "loss" is often further defined by an appended accusative; thus, **23** : 105, **7** : 8, ومَن خفّتْ موازينه فاولائك الذين خَسِروا انفسهم. This expression الذين خسروا انفسهم is often employed as a designation of the unbelievers, **6** : 12, 20, **7** : 51, **11** : 23, **22** : 11, خسر الدنيا والآخرة ذلك هو الخسران المبين.

In all these examples, خسر retains its intransitive force [1]). (Nes., غبنوا انفسهم.) The term خسر applies to the unbelievers more truly and emphatically than to any other class of people; they are الأخْسَرون. **18** : 103, **27** : 5 (في الآخرة), **11** : 24, cf. **21** : 70. The same is stated in another way in **39** : 17, **42** : 44, إنّ الخاسرين الذين خسروا انفسهم واهليهم يوم القيامة.

The unbeliever is the "loser" *par excellence*. Accordingly, Mohammed soon came to employ the term الخاسرون as a convenient designation for his opponents of all classes. The term contained an argument as well as a reproach, and had, moreover, the advantage of making a good verse-ending; so it appears as one of the most frequent "stock" expressions in the later Mekkan Suras and throughout the Medina period. Thus, **7** : 22, 90, 97, 148, 177, **10** : 95, **11** : 49, **16** : 110, **29** : 52, **39** : 63, 65, **41** : 22, 24, **46** : 17, **2** : 25, 61, 115, **3** : 79, **5** : 7, 33, 58, **8** : 38, **9** : 70, **58** : 20, **63** : 9.

In all these passages, خاسرون might easily be an outgrowth of Mohammed's use of خسر ("lose") to describe the unbelievers. On the other hand, **23** : 36, **7** : 88, **3** : 142, **5** : 24 (already noticed above), seem to point to a more extended figurative use of خسر, and one older than the

1) As in Aramaic and Syriac.

Koran. **12** : 14 may be regarded as conclusive on this point: قالوا لئن اكله الذئب ونحن عصبة انّا اذا لخاسرون. Here there is hardly a trace of the meaning «lose". The clause ونحن عصبة demands the translation of خاسرون by *«imbeciles"*, *«blockheads"*, or some such term [1]).

Such a use as this could not arise in a short time, and we must suppose that خاسر as a term of disparagement was current long before Mohammed's time.

Cf. with the above Mar. VIII. 36, هذا من هذا الجيل; Philip. III. 7, 8 (هذه الامور).

The expressions of *defrauding*, unfair dealing in trade, are employed (in the figurative sense) in only one way, viz. in the statement that Allah *will not defraud* in any smallest degree in settling man's account.

بخس *

Used in speaking of actual trade, **7** : 83, **11** : 86 (said by Shu'aib), أوفوا المكيال والميزان بالقسط ولا تبخسوا الناس اشياءهم; **26** : 183; **12** : 20 (وشروه بثمن بخس); **2** : 282.

In the theological sense, **11** : 18, من كان يريد الحيوة الدنيا وزينتها نوفّ اليهم اعمالهم فيها وهم فيها لا يبخسون; **72** : 13, فمن يؤمن بربّه فلا يخاف بخسًا ولا رهقًا.

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1) So Bd. ضعفاء; Gel. عاجزون; Kash. او هالكون ضعفًا وخورًا وعجزًا مستحقّون أن يهلكوا. Cf. Kash., to **23** : 36, تخسرون عقولكم.

* الت

(ليت [1], ولت.)

A root which appears in several different forms.

52 : 21, والذين آمنوا واتبعتهم ذريتهم بايمان ألحقنا بهم ذريتهم وما ألتناهم من عملهم من شيء كل امرئ بما كسب رهين. (Bḍ., نقصناهم).

49 : 14, وإن تطيعوا الله ورسوله لا يلتكم من اعمالكم شيئا (i. e., from the *reward* of your deeds. — Coms.).

Or, يلتْ here may be considered as coming from ولت.

Other readings connect it with الت; thus Ǵel. states that the word is read بالهمز وتركه وابداله الفا [2]).

نقص

11 : 111, وإنا لموفوهم نصيبهم غير منقوص. (Used like بخس, خسر, for cheating in trade, at **11** : 85.)

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1) Die beiden Wörter (ليت, الت) gehören sicher zusammen; da entscheidet uns **52** : 21 über **49** : 14 und zeigt, dass يلتكم als يألتكم = يلتكم zu nehmen ist. Die Ḥiǵâzier sprachen in solchen Fällen das ء nicht aus; cf. die Beispiele in meiner "Geschichte des Qorâns", S. 250. Ausser لن يلتكم من اعمالكم شيئا, Wellhausen, Skizzen, 4, ٣٢, 19 (Muhammed's Vertrag mit den Medinensern), habe ich nie eine weitere Form von diesem الت resp. ولت oder gar ليت gefunden. Immerhin mag es mit لات حين zusammenhängen, also in letzter Instanz mit لا, "nicht". Die beiden Dichterstellen bei Ǵauharî s. v. ليت haben die Koranstellen benutzt; die Späteren kannten das Wort offenbar nicht mehr. Glücklicherweise ist die Bedeutung in den beiden Stellen klar. (N.)

2) Cf. the preceding note.

ظلم

Used like the preceding words, but much oftener.

21 : 48, ونَضَعُ الموازينَ القِسْطَ ليوم القيامة فلا تُظْلَم نفس شيئًا وانْ كان مثقال حبّة من خَرْدل اتينا بها وكفى بنا حاسبين; **18** : 47, ووُضِع الكتاب ووجدوا ما عملوا حاضرًا ولا يَظْلِم ربّك احدًا; **39** : 69, 70, **2** : 274, 281, **3** : 24, 155, **6** : 161, **10** : 48, 55, **16** : 112, **36** : 54, **40** : 17, **45** : 21, **46** : 18; **4** : 44, فمَن اوتى كتابَه بيمينه فاولائك يَقْرَءُون كتابهم ولا يُظْلَمون فتيلًا; **4** : 52, 79, 123 (نقيرًا). Bḍ. (to **17** : 73), لا يُنْقَصون من اجورهم أدنى شيء. So Ǵel.; Nes. to **2** : 281, &c.

2 : 54, وما ظلمونا ولكن كانوا انفسَهم يَظلمون. Cf. **10** : 45.

In all the above examples, ظلم has the meaning "*defraud*" (in a business transaction). The more common "oppress", "wrong by violence", &c., would be here out of place.

At **18** : 31 we see the word used in a very different connection, and approaching more closely the literal meaning of نقص [1]): — كلتا الجَنّتَيْن آتتْ اُكُلَها ولم تَظلم منه شيئًا. Bḍ., Ǵel., Kash., ولم تَنْقُصْ.

Cf. further **2** : 279 (after forbidding الربَو), وانْ تُبْتم فلكم رُؤُس اموالكم لا تَظلمون ولا تُظْلَمون. Bḍ., Ǵel., لا تَظلمون بأخذ الزيادة ولا تُظلَمون بالمَطْل والنقصان.

This (نقص) is not in any sense a fundamental signification

1) But of course ظلم always contains the idea of lessening, or withholding in part, *that which is due*.

of ظلم. It is plain that the more common use of the word in the Koran has nothing to do with the idea نقص. Mohammed's favorite "الظالمون" is *not* equivalent to الظالمون انفسهم (**2** : 54). Moḥîṭ el-Moḥît gives as the primary meaning of ظلم: وضع الشيء في غير موضعه. So Lane. The idea "*wrong*" [natürlich in letzter Instanz "dunkel" (N.)] is everywhere underlying.

Buying and Selling; Profit.

The business relations of Allah with mankind include actual *bargaining*, *buying and selling*, as well as payment, keeping an account, and the like.

The idea is characteristic of the latter part of Mohammed's public ministry in much the same way that حساب is characteristic of the earlier portion. From standing alone, burning with his message of warning, he came to be a political power, at the head of a large party. The centre of gravity of his preaching shifted from descriptions of the last day to practical teachings concerning conduct and conditions in this life. This difference is plainly marked in his use of the words شرى, بيع, قرض, in which the emphasis is always strongly on present conditions, or, more particularly, on the attitude assumed toward Mohammed and his political party.

As a matter of fact, these words hardly occur at all in the Koran before the Medina period.

شرى *

In classical Arabic, شرى is used to mean both "buy" and "sell". بيع, commonly meaning *an exchange of property*,

barter, may also have either signification [1]). In modern Arabic, as Professor Hartmann kindly informs me, اشترى means always "buy", بيع always "sell". In the Koran شرى means "*sell*", اشترى means "*buy*" [2]).

شرى is always a strong term as employed (in its theological sense) by Mohammed. It carries high praise or bitter reproach, or is used argumentatively with a force manifestly greater than that of خسر.

As it happens, شرى (sell), when used of men, is always a term of praise in the Koran; اشترى (buy) a term of reproach. (**2** : 96 is an apparent exception to this. See below.)

The second party to the "trade" (Allah) is rarely mentioned or suggested, nothing more being expressed than the simple idea of an exchange. The Coms. generally paraphrase شرى (اشترى) by استبدل, and that is in many cases a fairly good equivalent. It is unlikely that Mohammed had any clear idea of a *transaction* in mind, in some of these passages [3]). This is of course precisely what we should expect, if we suppose him to have found these terms already in common use.

The *objects* of sale or barter are varied, so far, at least, as the form of expression goes. The form most frequently recurring is that found at **2** : 38, ولا تشتروا بآياتي ثمنًا قليلًا, i. e., do not make the *bad bargain* of misusing our revelations, or withholding them for your own purposes! Mohammed is here speaking to the Jews, and it is generally in addresses to this people that the شرى passages occur. It is his final argument and his most cutting accusation. To be

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1) Contrast Bd. (**2** : 15) بَاذِل الثمن مُشترٍ وآخذه بائع, with Nes. (**2** : 15) الشراء البيع والاشتراء الابتياع! The distinction here made by Bd. is by far the most common in classical Arabic.

2) But see **2** : 84, below.

3) E. g. **2** : 84.

called كافر, or promised the most blood-curdling tortures in جهنّم would give no unbeliever much concern, but to be charged with making *a foolish bargain* — that was a reproach that every Arab could feel! So **2** : 169, 170, إنّ الذين يكتمون ما انزل الله من الكتاب ويشترون به ثمنا قليلا .... اولائك الذين اشتروا الضلالة بالهدى. Cf. also **2** : 73, **3** : 71 [1]) (بعهد الله وايمانهم), 184, 198, **5** : 48. These are all addressed to the Jews. — **16** : 97, on the other hand, was probably spoken at Mekka. Here عهد الله seems to mean simply الاسلام. Cf. vs. 93 and **9** : 12.

9 : 9, اشتروا بآيات الله ثمنا قليلا فصدّوا عن سبيله, occurs in the final proclamation concerning the unbelievers, read by ʿAlî at the "Abû Bekr pilgrimage". It is Mohammed's final accusation against them.

Cf. with these passages **5** : 105, لا نشترى به ثمنا, occurring in a practical teaching of Mohammed's. The phrase اشترى بثمن in the figurative sense is not uncommon in the old poems. Thus, Zuhair (Nöldeke, Del. Carm. Arab., 106 : 9):

الم تَرَ أبنَ سِنانٍ كَيْف فَضّله
ما يَشترى فيه حَمْد الناس بالثمن

Very similar is ʿAlḳama, Diw., 13: 32:

والحمد لا يُشترى الّا له ثمن
مِمّا تَضَنّ به الأنفُوسُ معلوم

and cf. en-Nâbigha, *Fragments*, 2.

A similar use is met with in the expression اشتروا الضلالة بالهدى, **2** : 15, 170 (quoted above), **4** : 47 (بالهدى omitted).

Another variation, **3** : 171, الذين اشتروا الكفر بالايمان;

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1) Bokh. has a "historical" setting for this verse. II. 13, III. 213.

and still a third, **2** : 80, اشتروا الحيوة الدنيا بالآخرة, — "they *buy* this life at the price of the life to come"! — said of the Jews [1]), in a fierce denunciation. Cf. Nöldeke, Beiträge, 65: 1:

لُبابَ يا اختَ بنى مالك
لا تشترى العاجلَ بالآجل

On the other hand, **4** : 76, فليقاتلْ فى سبيل الله الذين يشرون الحيوة الدنيا بالآخرة, — "those who *sell* this life for the life to come", — is spoken in praise and encouragement of the believers.

A close parallel with these passages is furnished by the use of بدل in **2** : 102, **14** : 33; cf. **18** : 48.

Still more pointed than the preceding is the form of expression found at **2** : 203, ومن الناس من يشرى نفسه ابتغاء مرضات الله, delivered at Mekka (?). The believer is represented as *selling himself*, the price being the مرضات الله, and the purchaser Allah. Contrast **2** : 84 (in an invective against the Jews), بئسما اشتروا به انفسهم [2]), and vs. 96, ولقد علموا لمن اشتراه ما له فى الآخرة من خلاق ولبئس ما شروا به انفسهم. They *buy* this [evil teaching] at the price of their own souls.

Cf. with the first clause of this passage **31** : 5, ومن الناس من يشترى لهو الحديث ليضل الخ, also spoken in bitter reproach, referring probably to en-Naḍr ibn el-Ḥârith and his too interesting tales. (Ibn Hishâm 191, 235.)

But the plainest and fullest statement in the Koran of the *commercial relation* between Allah and man is that at

1) All of these passages, with the exception of **3** : 171, are directed against the Jews.

2) اشترى must here be translated "*sell*", however; a deviation from the usual Koran use.

إنّ الله اشترى من المؤمنين انفسهم واموالهم بانّ لهم الجنّة يقاتلون فى سبيل الله, **9** : 112, spoken on the return from the Tebûk expedition. Allah "buys" the believers, "themselves and their property", giving paradise in payment for the same. The devotion of life and property to the Muslim cause is here enjoined in a manner very characteristic of Mohammed's way of thinking [1]). This verse has played probably no inconsiderable rôle in the history of Muslim conquest. Cf. **4** : 76 (quoted above), where the idea is the same; also **2** : 203 [2]) (above).

The same expression, carrying a similar idea, occurs in pre-Mohammedan times. Thus, 'Orwa ibn el-Ward (Nöld., Del. Carm., 36: 10):

ذَرينى ونفسى أُمَّ حسّانَ انّنى
بها قَبْل أَلّا أَمْلِكَ البَيْعَ مُشْتَرِ[3])
أَحاديثَ تَبْقَى الخ

Mohammed employs the word شرى twice in the Koran in speaking of actual trade; **12** : 20 (شرى), 21 (اشترى).

An instructive outgrowth of this Koran use is the employment of the term الشارون to designate the sect of the Khâ-

1) Cf. **61** : 4, 10—12.

2) The Coms. (Bḍ., Kash., Ǵel.) make this refer to Ṣuhaib, who left his property behind in Mekka.

3) I. e., I will buy lasting renown with my life, by exposing it to death (in the purposed raid).

Cf. Ibn Batouta (ed. Defrémery) IV, page 196, فقرأ كتابهم على الناس يوم الجمعة فبكوا وقالوا نبيع انفسنا من الله فانّ الكافر إنْ اخذ تلك المدينة انتقل الى حصارنا فالموت تحت السيوف اولى بنا. Cf. also the expression باع نفسه بأبخس ثمن, quoted from Bocthor in Dozy, Supplément. Eng., "sell one's life dearly".

riǵites, in the early Caliphate. Of course the orthodox Muslims would often try to interpret this term in such a way as to make it a reproach (cf. el-Ḳâmûs, in Lane), but the true explanation is undoubtedly that of Ǵauharî (quoted in Belâdhurî, Gl.), سمّوا بذلك لقولهم انّا شرينا انفسنا فى طاعة الله. That this was the meaning of the Khâriǵites themselves is plain enough from the following verse (Nöld., Del. Carm., 88: 15):

ألا ايّها الشارون قدْ حان لامْرئ
شرى نفسَه للّه أنْ يترحّلا

For other examples of شرى as applied to the Khâriǵites, see Kâmil (ed. Wright) 528 : 1, 560 : 16, 619 : 6, 595 : 16 (باع instead of شرى) [1]).

That شرى نفسه came to be used as a technical term in the Muslim army is evident from Belâdhurî 377, فكان المهاجر ابن زياد الحارثى اخو الربيع بن زياد بن الديّان فى الجيش فاراد ان يشرى نفسه وكان صائمًا فقال الربيع لأبى موسى انّ المهاجر عزم على ان يشرى نفسه وهو صائم فقال ابو موسى عزمتُ على كلّ صائم ان يُفطر او لا يخرج الى القتال فشرب المهاجر شربة ماءٍ وقال قد ابررتُ عزمة اميرى والله ما شربتها من عطش ثمّ راح فى السلاح فقاتل حتّى استشهد.

On the other hand, the Koran use of اشترى نفسه as a reproach is further exemplified in the verses quoted by Bḍ., Kash. (to **2** : 15):

اخذتُ بالجمّة رأسًا ازعرا
وبالثنايا الواضحات الدّرْدُرا

1) All these references are given in Brünnow, "Die Charidschiten unter den ersten Omayyaden", p. 29.

وبالطويل العمر عمرا جديرا
كما اشترى المُسلم انْ تنصّرا

This figure of buying and selling is not uncommon in the Jewish and Christian Scriptures. II Ki. XVII. 17, ויתמכרו לעשות הרע בעיני יהוה [1]); I Ki. XXI. 20, 25. The idea in the O. T. is generally that of the people Israel *being sold* (into slavery), or ransomed, by Jehovah [2]). Thus, Is. L. 1, מי מנושי אשר מכרתי אתכם לו הן בעונתיכם נמכרתם; LII. 3; Ps. XLIV. 13, תמכר עמך בלא הון ולא רבית במחיריהם; Deut. XXXII. 30; Judg. II. 14, ויחר אף יהוה בישראל ..... וימכרם ביד אויביהם; III. 8, IV. 2, 9. Of ransoming, Is. XI. 11, והיה ביום ההוא יוסיף אדני שנית ידו לקנות את שאר עמו אשר ישאר מאשור וממצרים ... Cf. also the proper name אלקנה [3]).

The idea of a *trade* with God (which after all is *not* a trade, but rather the receiving of a gift!) is found at Is. LV. 1, ולכו שברו בלא כסף ובלא מחיר יין וחלב. Cf. Rev. III. 18.

In the N. T., the idea of ransoming receives a new impulse through the doctrine of the atonement. Acts XX. 28, ... *τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ ἣν περιεποιήσατο διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου.* Col. I. 14, I Pet. I. 18, 19, Eph. I. 14. I Cor. VI. 20, *καὶ οὐκ ἐστὲ ἑαυτῶν, ἠγοράσθητε γὰρ τιμῆς.* VII. 23, I Tim. II. 6, Tit. II. 14, Gal. IV. 5. Rom. VII. 14, *ἐγὼ δὲ σάρκινός εἰμι, πεπραμένος ὑπὸ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν.*

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1) Welche Vorstellung diesem התמכר zu Grunde liegt, ist mir nicht recht klar. (N.)

2) An idea fundamentally different from that in the Koran, evidently. The children of Israel were the עבדי יהוה, bought or sold by Him at His pleasure. Their relations with Him were not *business* relations.

3) In this name the verb קנה may have another meaning, to be sure. Cf. also the preceding note.

Mar. VIII. 37, *τί γὰρ δοῖ ἄνθρωπος ἀντάλλαγμα τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ*;

Of buying and selling between God and man, Rev. III. 18, *συμβουλεύω σοι ἀγοράσαι παρ' ἐμοῦ χρυσίον πεπυρωμένον ἐκ πυρὸς ἵνα πλουτήσῃς, κτε.*

باع

باع, unlike شرى, appears in the Koran only rarely in the figurative sense. It has everywhere its principal signification, "*barter*", "bargain".

In **9** : 112, it is used to designate the transaction شروا انفسهم (see above): — فاستبشروا ببيعكم الذى بايعتم به, "rejoice in the *bargain* ye have made!"

A very characteristic phrase is يوم لا بيع فيه; **14** : 36, من قبل أن يأتى يوم لا بيع فيه ولا خلال, also occurring at **2** : 255. (Cf. **2** : 45, 117, **31** : 32.) The idea here seems to be that of ransoming; so Gel. فداء. (Nes., on the other hand, لا يكون لأحد مال ولا تجارة ولا كسب لينفق ذلك فيما يوجد عليه لانه يوم جزاء لا يوم عمل.) This phrase would be sure to catch the ear of every Arab: — "a day when there is no bargaining, and no account made of tribe or family"!

In **48** : 10, انّ الذين يبايعونك انّما يبايعون الله, the word is used in the more general signification of making a mutual compact or contract [1]). Cf. Bokh. II. 28 : 6 sq.; **60** : 12, &c.

باع نفسه (= شرى نفسه) is occasionally met with in Muslim writers. E. g., Ibn Khaldoun (ed. Slane), 128 : 17, فقد

1) Namely, that of Ḥodeibia.

نقل عنهم من اتّخاذ المعلّمين كتاب الله لصبيانهم وبيعهم النفوس من الله وجهاد عدوّه ما يدلّ على رسوخ ايمانهم. (Reference given, with others, in Dozy, Suppl.) See also under شرى, above.

تجارة

Used, like بيع, in designating some one of the various transactions described above under شرى; thus, اولائك الذين اشتروا الضلالة بالهدى فما ربحت تجارتهم, **2** : 15; **61** : 10, يا ايها الذين آمنوا هلْ ادلّكم على تجارة تُنْجيكم من عذاب أليم، تؤمنون بالله ورسوله وتجاهدون فى سبيل الله باموالكم وانفسكم. The same "bargain", evidently, as at **9** : 112, **4** : 76, &c. This utterance might well have been occasioned by some such occurrence as that referred to in **62** : 11, where the sudden arrival of a caravan from Syria, in the midst of the Friday service, cost the prophet his audience (Coms. and Bokh. Cf. **24** : 37, **9** : 24).

In **35** : 26 (a Mekkan passage), ان الذين يتلون كتاب الله واقاموا الصلوة وانفقوا ممّا رزقناهم سرًّا وعلانية يرجون تجارة لن تبور, the emphasis is evidently on the word انفقوا. Cf. **14** : 36, and **2** : 255.

What the believer gains in this transaction is the اجر, vs. 27. Cf. the saying عليكم بتجارة الآخرة (Lane).

ثمن*

The word occurs only in connection with شرى, in the passages quoted above.

ربح *

The opposite of خسر. It occurs only in the passage **2** : 15, اولائك الذين اشتروا الضلالة بالهدى فما ربحت تجارتهم, "it was not a *winning* transaction for them" [1]). التجارة طلب الربح بالبيع والشرى لفضل على راس المال (Bḍ.).

Cf. I Tim. VI. 6, *ἔστιν δὲ πορισμὸς μέγας ἡ εὐσέβεια μετὰ αὐταρκείας.* Mar. VIII. 36, *τί γὰρ ὠφελεῖ ἄνθρωπον κερδῆσαι τὸν κόσμον ὅλον καὶ ζημιωθῆναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ;*

Loans; Security.

قرض *

The idea of the *lending of property* is closely connected with that of buying and selling. In the Koran, قرض is a loan which the Muslim makes to Allah. Always in the expression أقرض قرضًا حسنًا.

2 : 246, ومَن ذا الذى يُقرِض الله قرضا حسنا فيضاعفَه له اضعافا كثيرة; **5** : 15, **57** : 11, 17, **64** : 17, **73** : 20.

The above passages, taken in their connection, leave no room for doubt as to what the prophet himself meant by the "loan". Cf. **2** : 245, وقاتلوا فى سبيل الله; **57** : 10, من انفق من قَبْل الفَتْح وقاتل; **64** : 14—16; **5** : 15, وعزّرتموهم

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1) Cf. the expression sometimes heard among German Jews: "er hat einen guten *Revach* gemacht"! [הרביח; also "Revvich", "Rebbich". (Euting; who also refers to the dictionaries of the Jewish-German language by Vollbeding and Selig.)] Professor Nöldeke doubts the existence of an Aramaic root רבח, though adding that the Arabic رَبَح is exactly paralleled in the Aethiopic.

(where Mohammed, as usual, pictures his own circumstances in those of the former prophets). The "loan" is always positive service, aid extended to the prophet بالانفس والاموال [1]). The expression occurs only in Medina passages.

Whether حسن means here "on advantageous terms", or "praiseworthy" (because made in true zeal; Gel.), or simply "in a good cause" (Kash.), amounts of course to practically the same thing. Bḍ. advances a number of explanations.

Cf. Prov. XIX. 17, מלוה יהוה חונן דל וגמלו ישלם לו.

Mar. X. 21, *ὕπαγε ὅσα ἔχεις πώλησον καὶ δὸς τοῖς πτωχοῖς, καὶ ἕξεις θησαυρὸν ἐν οὐρανῷ* [2]).

أسلف *

10 : 31, هنالك تبلو كلّ نفس ما أسلفتْ, every soul shall receive in the future life that for which it has *paid in advance* [3]) (viz. by good works). So **69** : 24, كُلوا واشربوا هَنيًّا بما أسلفتم فى الايّام الخالية.

This idea of *payment in advance* is like that of the loan, though much more general. Cf. the clause in **73** : 20, وما تقدّموا لأنفسكم من خير تجدوه عند الله, and Kash. to **2** : 246 (quoted above); cf. also **36** : 11, **89** : 25, **22** : 10, &c. Bḍ. to **36** : 11 has ما اسلفوا من الاعمال الصالحة والطالحة.

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1) It is probable, as Professor Nöldeke remarks, that Mohammed always meant by قرض حسن the actual lending of *property* to Allah.

2) In both of these examples, the "lending" is evidently fundamentally different from that in the Koran. God is not the object of the loan.

3) Cf. Bokh. II. 44 sq.

رهن *

Every soul is held by God as *security* for the debt it has incurred by its deeds. (A familiar figure of speech in the older Arabic poetry.)

52 : 21, كلّ امرئ بما كسب رهينٌ.

مرهون .... كما يرهن الرجل عبده بدَيْن عليه, Kash., so Bd., Gel.

Also **74** : 41, كلّ نفس بما كسبتْ رهينةٌ إلّا اصحاب اليمين. [إلّا اصحاب اليمين] فانّهم فَكّوا عنه رِقابهم بما اطابوه من كسبهم كما يخلّص الراهن رَهْنَه باداء الحقّ, Kash., so Bd. The اصحاب اليمين are said by the Coms. to be either angels or little children. The latter was the interpretation of ʿAlî (Kash.). Mohammed himself undoubtedly had the same idea in mind as at **56** : 8, and used the expression without noticing the inconsistency.

Compare with the above passages **2** : 283, وان كنتم على سَفَرٍ ولم تجدوا كاتبا فرهانٌ مقبوضةٌ; and Bokh. II. 9: 15 sq. (a tradition that very often occurs).

III.

It may be well to bring together here some of the facts that have appeared in the preceding pages.

Taking these expressions as a whole, it cannot be said that Mohammed employs them at any one period more than at another. On the contrary, there is a striking uniformity

in their numerical distribution throughout the Koran, from the earliest Suras to the latest [1]).

Nor can it be said of any single term that it belongs necessarily to a given period, so that from the simple fact of its presence one could predict with certainty the date of a passage. All this is natural in view of the character of the terms themselves.

In the use of certain *classes* of these expressions, however, there is a perceptible variation, or rather, a shifting of the centre of gravity, in the progress of the "revelation". The most vigorous and characteristic idea of the earliest Suras, that of a *personal reckoning* with God at the يوم القيامة, loses its primitive strength, and the words حساب (in the above signification), ثقل, وزن, and even خسر, have really spent their force before the Medina period. The words شرى, بيع, تجارة, قرض, occur only in the later Suras. They belong to a time when the relation of men to Islam had taken precedence over their relation to God, in Mohammed's preaching.

In the latest Mekkan Suras (Nöldeke's "third period"), the "stock expressions" — الخاسرون, اجر عظيم, &c. — come into power, most of them appearing then for the first time. These seem generally to be Mohammed's own property. Inasmuch as they are verse-endings employed for rhyming purposes, they occasionally make a somewhat mechanical and lifeless impression. On the other hand, it must be always borne in mind that "stock expressions" have their origin in *stock ideas*. The very fact that these commercial terms are so used is significant.

The Old- and New-Testament writings often contain expressions which resemble those we are considering; so far, at least, as form of words is concerned. But even a su-

1) In Flügel's edition, 29 pages belong to the first Mekkan period, 68 to the second, 108 to the third, and 108 to the Medina period: these words occur 30, 60, 148 and 133 times, respectively.

perficial comparison must emphasize the unique character of the Koran, in this respect.

The mutual relations between God and man are of a strictly commercial nature. Allah is the ideal merchant. He includes all the universe in his reckoning. All is counted, everything measured. The book and the balances are his institution, and he has made himself the pattern of honest dealing. Life is a business, for gain or loss. He who does a good or an evil work ("earns" good or evil), receives his pay for it, even in this life. Some debts are forgiven, for Allah is not a hard creditor. The Muslim makes a loan to Allah; pays in advance for paradise; sells his own soul to him, a bargain that prospers. The unbeliever has sold the divine truth for a paltry price, and is bankrupt. Every soul is held as security for the debt it has contracted. At the resurrection, Allah holds a final reckoning with all men. Their actions are read from the account-book, weighed in the balances; each is paid his exact due, no one is defrauded. Believer and unbeliever receive their wages. The Muslim (who has been given *manifold* payment for each of his good deeds) receives moreover his special reward.

A more simply mathematical "body of divinity" than this is difficult to imagine.

When one remembers that the facts here dealt with, touching almost every department of life, are expressed regularly in this form, and, besides this, that they are in most cases reiterated *ad nauseam*, the fact of their importance to Mohammed's conception of religion will not be questioned. It is of course the underlying *commercial spirit* that is of moment; but these particular words and phrases are for us the most concrete and striking manifestation of that spirit. I venture the assertion that no part of the Koran theological terminology is more characteristically Arabic, or more deeply imbedded in the whole structure of the Koran, from beginning to end.

But when this has once been said, there is little more to say. Any attempt to analyze these expressions in the hope of finding ideas logically conceived and developed is doomed to disappointment. We find Mohammed simply repeating over and over again expressions upon which he had evidently never bestowed much thought [1]). There is *here*, at least, no evidence that any of his theological beliefs in particular, or his standpoint in general, progressed, even in the slightest degree, during the period of some twenty years which the Koran represents [2]).

To say that this is due to the nature of these ideas, is not quite sufficient. The fact that they were inherited, rather than invented, by Mohammed, needs also to be taken into account. It is hardly claiming too much to say that if these commercial-theological terms had originated in his own experiences as a caravan driver, there could hardly fail to be some sort of a development in their theological use which we could observe. It has been shown, by citations from pre-Mohammedan poems, that some of the most characteristic of these expressions were current among the Arabs in the "time of ignorance". One better acquainted than I with the old poems could doubtless produce many more illustrations.

Mohammed was *not original.* Lack of originality might almost be called his chief characteristic as compared with other founders of religious systems. Abstract thinking was not his forte. The Arabic language and his own native power of rhetoric were two helpers that always stood him

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1) He does not even seem to employ them consciously as figurative expressions, — except perhaps at **61**: 10, and in the passages exhorting to the قرض حسن.

2) The decided weakening in tone exhibited in the later Suras had nothing to do with any wavering of belief. And if the Medina passages show strength only on the practical side, and seem more worldly and farther from God than their predecessors, remember that the early Mekkan Suras were *still recited.* To this fact of continual re-recitation is also due in part the impression of a *fixed terminology* which the Koran makes in so marked a degree.

in good stead, but for theologizing he had little taste and less capability.

What made him the founder of a new era was not that he was able to provide a philosophical system for the Arab merchants and marauders, but that he understood his own people, and knew how to build up what was *Arabic*, even with materials obtained from other nations. What little theology he had, he had inherited or borrowed. Its main facts had already been formulated for him in the plainest and most practical terms of a very practical language, and he received them without asking any questions, and clung to them most tenaciously.

Occasional notice has already been taken, in the preceding pages, of the influence which the presence of these trade terms in the Koran has exerted. Here the old, deep-rooted commercial spirit was given fixed concrete form, and the Koran was and is the final authority for the Muslim of whatever race or land. It embodied a system which fitted the Arab nature as only a system could which had sprung directly from that nature. أحد الله is only one of a number of its propositions of which any variation is mathematically impossible. The theology of Islam is the simplest and most logical of all theologies.

How far the words and phrases we have been considering may have contributed to this result, is a question lying beyond the limits of this paper. It would be easy to multiply examples, both in prose and poetry, from Arabic literature, showing how these very expressions were seized upon and applied, by Mohammed's followers. Such passages as that quoted from Belâdhurî (under شرى, p. 40) are significant.

It goes without saying that many a conscientious camel-driver would think over these terms until they meant more to him than they ever did to Mohammed, — to say nothing

of the toil and sweat of the محتسبون في ذات الله! That which would remain in the mind of the average Muslim hearer or reader of the Koran would be the repeated mention of the حساب, the خُسْر, and the اجر عظيم. The pilgrim to Mekka is not indulging in a mere figure of speech, but expressing the most real idea of his "working theology", when he prays for حج مبرور وذنب مغفور وتجارة لن تبور [1].

1) Snouck Hurgronje, Mekka, II. 2, note 1.

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